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always kept on hand and offers it to the spirit who controls this particular war party. The others do the same. Then he would cross the river. Whenever he drank any water the others would also do so, and if he refrained so would the others. If at any time during the night when they are camping the war leader should wake up and sing some songs, be they grizzly bear, black rat paint, or night songs, all those others who know similar songs would likewise begin to sing.

Miscellaneous war customs. There were, in former times, many miscellaneous customs connected with warfare, most of which have now been forgotten. However, in myths and accounts of war parties a number of them are still mentioned.

When a war party surprised a lodge, all the occupants were killed or captured and the poles that were spliced together to form the arches were released so that they sprang back to either side and assumed a vertical position.

When a war party surprised a lodge in which there were children they generally killed them, cut off their heads, pried open their mouths so as to give them the appearance of laughing, and then placed the heads on their bodies again and arranged them against the door, so that when their father came home he would find them greeting him as usual. A brave warrior would never flinch at such a sight, but would prepare a meal as usual and speak to the children as if they were alive and offer them something to eat. Only then would he bury them. Immediately after they had been buried he would go on the warpath to revenge them.

Frequently the skulls of slain enemies are used as lodge weights and their skin is taken off and used as mats, door-flaps, etc.

War honors.—"It is the ideal of every Winnebago youth," says an informant, "to kill an enemy in full sight of his friends and thus to gain for himself a headdress and an eagle feather." Most deeds considered valorous, according to Winnebago ideas, have associated with them certain insignia which are always worn in public, giving evidence to all that so-and-so has performed such and such a valorous deed.

These insignia consist of the following:

Headdress and feather.—Denote that an individual has scalped and killed a man and torn off his scalp still bleeding. He is entitled to a red headdress and eagle feather. This also includes the man who has counted first coup (*sarinkwahi'na*).

Red headdress.—If he has killed the enemy and not scalped him (*teak'ate wak'e'rē*.)

Eagle feather.—Worn by one who has counted second coup.

Hanging eagle feather.—Worn by one who has counted third coup.

Eagle feather stuck crosswise in hair.—Worn by one who has counted fourth coup.

Waggirusgitc.—Consists of a rope worn around the neck. It is worn by the leader of that warpath who has captured an enemy.

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614 Associated with every clan was also four clan songs. These were
● 533 supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They were always sung on the death of an individual and were supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these
[761] songs was so intimately associated with death that when some
[627] hardened offender, let us say, some individual who had killed a member of the tribe and who refused to make atonement of any kind, was pursued, he defiantly sang his clan songs.

614 As a last element in the clan complex may be mentioned the
[302] specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

We have now completed the discussion of clan organization. As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary association that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that it had grown around a strong social-political unit.

INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

614 Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the
575 existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, in so far as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend upon the respective center of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability in this respect. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional unit of the latter the center from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society like the Medicine Dance, the Grizzly-Bear Dance, and Night-Spirit Dance, no influence is perceptible. However, these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive

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An old Winne-
bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry. 614 615 582 778

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette. 614 372 689 [576]

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans. 614 764 [184]

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions. 614 [533]

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath. [554]

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper marking is, however, that shown in plate 46. [765]

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pi°zakirutega; ka-iwakitca°ga.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan. [796] [776]

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614 was. And then all of them went toward the chief's lodge. They
539 walked as chiefs, all four of them. The four of them went, there
776 The chief's lodge was an oval lodge, and there they entered.

The Snake clansman was the one appointed to get the food. He went after the food. It was an Eagle-people feast. Two fish the Snake clansman brought, and with these the Eagle chief gave a feast. The Deer clan acted as attendants. Thus they ate the fish. And when they were finished with the eating, on either side, they left the head and the tail of the fish. This they left of their meal. "And if we have a dog we will call him *Leaves-fish-on-both-ends*," they said. Then they sat down. As they were sitting some one peeped in. It was the dog. Only his nose he stuck in. Then they said, "Whose nose does it look like?" So the chief spoke. "If we ever have a dog and if we wish to keep it permanently, *Whose-nose-does-it-look-like*, we will call it.

Then all of a sudden their bodies began to be different and their feathers began to look as if they were worn off. They were about to enter the chief's lodge. Then the chief passed the fire to the Deer clan and when they were through the lodge was purified with
[783] the incense of smoking cedar leaves. Then again into the very long lodge they entered. This was at Red Banks. Then the upper people taught the lower people the things to make them good. Thus Earth-maker ordained everything, and as he ordered so it was. That is the way they were. Holy they were. And all (of my clan?) lived as chiefs. This is all that I was taught.

614
533 PLAN SONGS

First song

The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.

Second song

The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.

EAGLE AND PIGEON CLANS

614 No information was obtained about either of these clans. The Pigeon clan has been extinct for some time and only a few survivors of the Eagle clan are left. Neither of these clans seems ever
[778 to have been of great importance. They had war bundles and an
796] Eagle feast is mentioned.

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614 have been subjected to literary and shamanistic remodeling. Only
173 the shorter accounts show in their subject matter and presentation certain affinities to the origin myths of the other clans, the longer ones being entirely different. Another cause for these marked differences may lie in the circumstance that since the longer accounts were associated with semi-esoteric ceremonies, the war-bundle feasts, they were known to but few individuals in the clan, whereas the shorter legends could be learned by anyone who chose to pay for
614 them. To this must also be added the fact that presumably some of the accounts current were based on hearsay knowledge.

[554] The Bear clan was, next to the Thunderbird clan, the most im-
[361] portant in the tribe. Its lodge was either in the center of the village, opposite that of the Thunderbird clan, or at the extreme end, depending upon the scheme of village organization accepted as
[727] correct. In it were confined the prisoners of war and the insignia of office possessed by the clan, such as the so-called standards, really crooks, and the so-called *namaxinixini*. Some individuals also claimed
[513] that unmarried men were allowed to sleep in the lodge, although they
345] were not clear as to whether they did this in order to guard the prisoners confined there or simply used it as a club house.

● [533] The clan songs are given on page 235. The same songs are used when gathering the clansmen together to select soldiers.

Apart from the war bundle or war bundles, the Bear clan possessed
614 three insignia—a war club of a definite shape, the curiously whittled
778 baton of authority called *namaxinixini*, and the crooks used in battle called *hoke'rewe*. Whenever the clan was exercising any of its functions the leader would always hold in his hands the *namaxinixini*.

The functions of the clan were probably the most important in the tribe and were entirely disciplinary. The author obtained the following description from an old Winnebago:

614
625 The Bear clansmen are the soldiers or sergeants-at-arms of the tribe. They have complete control of everything concerning discipline. Whenever the Winnebago are traveling or moving (i. e., on their various seasonal moves), the Bear clansmen lead, and wherever they decide to stop, there the leader would put his stick in the ground and the other Bear clansmen would do the same, arranging them all in a row pointing toward the direction in which they were going. The main body of the tribe would follow at a certain distance. No member of the tribe would dare pass ahead of the row of sticks. If, for instance, the tribe was on the fall move and traveling toward a country in which there was plenty of game, should any individual go back and around the sticks in order to kill game on his own account, the soldiers (Bear clansmen) would, as soon as he was detected, go over to his lodge and burn it up with all its contents and break all his dishes. The only thing they would spare would be his life and that of the other members of his family. If the one who had transgressed the rules made any attempt at resistance he would be severely whipped. If he refused to submit to this and took up his fire arms to fight, the soldiers would stand there calmly, but the moment he made an attempt to shoot they would kill him. In such a case nothing would be said either by the rest of the tribe or his relatives about

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crowd dispersed and went home. Blue-bear said that he would go home but that the rest were to live on this earth and that they would be the soldiers of this earth. That is the origin of the Bear clan.

When a bear is killed on earth, the Bear clansmen do not mind it, but they laugh and feel good. When one of the Bear clan dies, they say, "Don't cry, for he has gone home." Then they paint his jaws red to give him the appearance of laughing.

When a bear is killed on earth the spirit returns to Blue-bear, and so it is with the Bear clansmen. This is the story of the Bear clan.

All the birds, trees, snakes, and everything of its kind have soldiers. The sharp-clawed birds are soldiers of the birds and all the snakes that have fangs and all the trees that have prickers are soldiers of their kind. All the animals and living things of the earth have soldiers among them. The ugliest tempered ones of their kind are soldiers of whatever class they belong to. Oftentimes when a person gets angry on earth they would say, "The soldier; it is because he has a soldier nature." (Whoever has the power of hurting one of his fellow-beings and does it has a soldier nature.) This is the story of the Soldier clan.

If they had said in the beginning, "This or that clan will never do anything wrong," then the rest of the clans would never have done so. The Soldier clan opens the way for anyone, of any clan, at any time, to take up his soldier nature.

CLAN SONGS

Song 1

Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.

Song 2

Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.

Song 3

Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?

Song 4

Who can be above?
Who can be above?
Who can be above?
Who can be above?

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614 539 776 they sang songs, but I do not know them. I was not taught them. Finally children were born to both of them, and they gave them names. They called one of them *Wave* on account of the wave coming before them on their starting out. Because the four original [551] wolves in the middle of the ocean had four different colors, therefore they have names *White Wolf, Green Hair, Gray Wolf,* and *Black Wolf.* When the clan began to get larger they taught their children these names.

When a large number of different clansmen are traveling and they have to cross some large stream and the wind is high, they call upon some Wolf clansman to calm the wind. This clan holds the water [823] very sacred. They do not even die in the water.

It was at this first meeting that they made friends with the Bear clan. Therefore these two clans love one another.

THIRD VERSION—TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN (FRAGMENTARY)

The original wolf brothers appeared from the bottom of the ocean. When they got to the top of the water they started for the shore singing. When they got to the shore they saw footprints of bears who had just gone by. They said, "Our friends have just gone by." That is why they are the friends of the Bear clan. They were going to the meeting place. There a black hawk was gathering together all the different clans. Finally he finished and he said, "It is done." When he said this a wolf howled. They had forgotten him. They said, "We have forgotten him. Let some one go after him." So some one went after him . . .

614 ●533

CLAN SONGS

First song

This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
On the earth I am speaking.

Second song

This body of mine that I am walking
This body of mine that I am walking
This body of mine that I am walking.
In the waters am I speaking.

CLAN NAMES

cᵒᵍᵉᵉcᵒᵍᵉ' ᵉᵉᵍ'ᵉᵍ'ᴬᴿᴬᴺᵒᵉᵉᴿᴬ (WOLF CLAN)*

614 531 Otagwahdga.....Hunting dog.
Oshkirugh'a.....Wolf.
Regoniwiga.....Wolf (archaic name).

*The following names are from the Dorsey list.

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"My son, we first originated in human form at Bad Lake (*de'cëik*).* From four buffalo spirits who are there, did we originate. The youngest one was clever and from him did we originate. The buffaloes asked one another what they were to do, and they then began to exert their powers, and the youngest one obtained the knowledge that there was to be a gathering of all the animals. So they all landed at a place called Red Banks. So it is said. And to the elk was given the charge of the seating arrangements.

"Thus did we originate. And then they counciled with one another as to how they should travel along the road of life. And as they arrived at Red Banks, each one would ask the other to do some work. And there they made a sacred (covenant)—that they would never fail to grant one another's requests. Likewise they agreed that when they died they would bury one another. The Buffalo clan and the Water-spirit clan were to bury one another, and they were to ask one another to work."

614 539 776 764

CLAN SONGS

614 533

Song 1

Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.

Song 2

This earth you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

Song 3

This day you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

"My son, here is some more information that one in your position should seek. This should be the second thing to ask for: 'What should one say when one gives a feast?' This you should ask for, and you should boil food for the informant and then you will be taught the proper speeches. Afterwards, when anyone boils food (i. e., gives a winter-feast) a kettle should first be put on for Earth-maker and one should ask him for life; that the people may live to be strong and good. Include tobacco in your offering, for although Earthmaker made the tobacco he will not take any of it of his own accord. Not until it is offered to him by humans will he take it.

867 783 276

* The name *de'cëik* is applied to-day to Lake Michigan. However, our informant in this case applied it to Devils Lake in Sauk County, Wis.

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they gave one another. Thus they have the names *White-hair*, *Fast-one*, *Little-white-teeth*, *Diffident-one*, *Horn*, *Pronged-horn*, etc.; and for dogs they have names also. That is the way the deer people lived in the beginning at Red Banks, Within Lake. Bands of people gathered together there, and all the clans that exist now originated there.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

The Deer clan people came up at the beginning of the earth. Only one is spoken of as appearing at the beginning. He started forth but returned again that he might look for a companion. For that reason a name exists in the tribe, *He-who-comes-back*, and another is *He-who-appears-first*. After they had appeared on earth the deer blew on the original fire, which was only smoldering, and made it blaze up. For that reason they claim a partial chieftainship. The first one that appeared had a chief's medal around his neck.

CLAN SONG.

I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.

CLAN NAMES

WA HIK'IE'ARADJERA (DEER CLAN)

Teraxpho'nk'a..... Black deer chief.
Wagizena'p'i'ga..... Wears shells around neck
Teranhi'a'p'i'winga..... Deer vagina.
Mank'ingavexga..... Appears in the middle of earth
Teatconiwinga..... First deer woman

The Elk Clan

INTRODUCTION

In the Elk clan origin myth we find the clear statement that Earth-maker created the ancestors of the clan, and that they were human beings. The myth resembles a village origin myth more than it does a clan origin myth.

The Elk clan seems to have had certain functions relative to the distribution of fire through the village and in camp. It was never a very large clan.

The Elk people claim half of the fire, and thus half of the chieftainship. They never hold fire toward any one.

Elks are buried by the Snake, Water-spirit, and Eagle clans, although the first has the preference.

White clay is used in painting the dead.

According to another informant, the facial painting consisted of white and blue dots on the face (pl. 46).

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The Crow (i. e., Menominee) Indians knew what a wonderful man he was and whenever he went to visit them they gave him many presents. He would be invited to a feast as soon as he arrived.

On one occasion when they had a feast in a lodge (in his honor) one of the Menominee marked the ground in front of him and dared Lincoln's grandfather to come over, saying that if he did he would injure him. When the Winnebago crossed the mark he was pushed in all directions and finally shoved into a pit, bruising himself a great deal. When he came out, the old man said, "You have probably never heard of me. To-morrow noon, soldiers will hit you." Then the Menominee asked, "If soldiers hit me, what will be the result?" "You will die." Then the Menominee said, "You have nothing to do with my life," and made a jump at him.

The Menominee who had been told that he was going to die said the next morning to his nephew, "Nephew, let us go to the lake and look around. I can't forget what the old man told me yesterday." So they took their spears for fishing and went out. While they were on the lake they saw a deer drinking at the edge of the water. The man took a shot at the deer, and the deer ran back into the timber. The man and his nephew pursued it. After a while the man gave a yell and then all was quiet. The nephew went over to the place and there the man was found dead. At his side a very large snake, with hair on its back, was standing.

The next morning one could hear the mourning songs all over the woods. Then they went to look for the Winnebago, for they believed that it was his fault. They told him not to worry about it and gave him a horse to appease him. The day after they all had left the camp, the Winnebago pointed to some hawks that were circling around and told the Menominee to watch the foremost one. Then he pointed his finger at that one and made a sound with his mouth and the bird fell down dead. This Winnebago had the power to do this to all birds. He always told the Winnebago not to eat these birds because they were not good.

The Uses of the Stench-Earth Medicine[1]

There once was a man who had consumption and who knew that he was going to die soon. His relatives were about to move him to some other place and so he told them just to build him a separate lodge and leave him alone—that he wanted to die there. He asked them likewise not to come back to see him. They obeyed him and left him to die alone.

One day he decided to go out into the wilderness and die there. He went to the top of a hill and lay down. He noticed many birds

[1] This is the literal translation. What plant is meant the writer was not able to determine.

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B.'S FASTING.

(B. WAS A MEMBER OF THE BEAR CLAN)

159 787 776 There was a village near Big Lake (Lake Winnebago), and at this village the upper people and the earth people played lacrosse.[10] The Bear was the chief clan of the lower people, and those representing that side in the game defeated the representatives of the other side by sheer strength. Then one of the upper people said, "What effeminate fellows those Bear people are. They are very strong, but it would be much better if instead of being so strong in playing lacrosse they were strong when on the warpath." Thus he spoke. Then one of the Bear people (the one whose fasting is about to be described) felt very much grieved and went out into the wilderness to fast. His desire was to be blessed by those spirits who are in control of war, and in his longing to be blessed by them he cried bitterly. Soon he heard some one saying, "Do not cry any more, we have come after you from above. The spirits have blessed you. You are going to be taken to the lodge of your friends." When the young man got there he saw four men. They were called cannibals, and they were brothers. "Our friends have blessed you and we also bless you," said the four spirits. These four spirits were catfish. Then some white crane spirits said, "Our friends have blessed you. With spears they have blessed you. Indeed, for good reason was your heart sad (i. e., did you make yourself suffer while fasting). With victory on the warpath do we bless you. Here is your bundle. Here also are your spears and your bow and arrows. This bundle you must use when you go on the warpath. Here also are some songs to use when you start out and when you return. With these songs I bless you. Here they are:

[533] SONGS

Ho'ño k'ᵉiw'djaᵉ'djaᵉ rahi'jā?
Where they gathered, there did you go?
K'āre' hitcak'āre' ha'gizewi'ᵉe.
Well, my friend, shoot at it for him.

[789] "When the enemy is close upon you and aim their guns at you, if you sing these songs they will not be able to hit you. If you sing those songs then, those who gave you a name will honor you." Thus 776 756 we bless you. With life also we bless you."

159 787 [526] ARAGCOE'KA'S FASTING[11]

Aratcgᵉka, Left-handed-one, went out to fast. "A spirit I wish to bless me. I am fasting because I was told to do so. A shaman

[10] In playing lacrosse the upper and lower divisions were always pitted against one another.

[11] The sense is not quite clear here, but it is believed that he means that by singing one of these songs he will be victorious and be able to count coup or distinguish himself in some such way, and thus be worthy of being honored by his elders.

[12] This account of a fasting has been cast in a literary mould. It evidently relates to the fasting experiences of a well-known man.

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614 796 782 [537] the members of my clan, sufficient blessings to guide us all safely through life, and to make our lives pleasant. I will not tell the origin myth (of our clan) because it is sacred and it must not be told without the proper ceremony, for the telling would then injure an individual. Besides there are many clans beside our own represented here and it is not proper that these should hear it."

614 796 He then speaks of the four ancestral bear-beings who were created in the beginning.

When the feast is ready one of the Wolf clansmen gives four soldier whoops. Then the fire is allowed to die out, and as soon as the lodge is in complete darkness the feasters begin to eat. Before [533] eating, the host sings four songs. These are the clan songs and are only sung at these feasts or on the occasion of the death of a clansman.

Those who partake of food at the feast may be members of any clan except the Bear clan. The members of the latter clan do not eat at their own feast.

[264 415] Everyone attending must bring his own wooden spoon and must use it with his left hand. There are four wooden dishes in which the food is served. These are arranged in the lodge in a certain manner.

The guests sit around these dishes and eat with their own spoons.

[805] The feast is given in the first bear month. Some one generally watches the moon and as soon as the new moon is visible the feast begins. The feathers and the tobacco to be offered are placed in four little troughs made of basswood bark, each about 1 foot long. These are then placed on the south side of the fireplace.

When the meal is over the attendant or Wolf clansman generally says a few words of thanks to the host and then the host in turn thanks those who have participated and tells them that the feast is now over. All now pass out, the one next to the host leaving first and the rest in succession, the host himself remaining until the end.

[778 782] When the feast is over the tobacco and the feathers are taken away from the lodge and carried in a southern direction to a place (under a tree) that has been especially cleared and sanctified. Any person may thereafter go there, offer tobacco, and ask for long life.

614 796 537 782 Informant, member of the clan (male): "Well, soldiers, your moon is about to appear. It is good. So come forth, for it is at this time that the spirits asked to be remembered. Let us send, on this occasion, to the place at which we all originated, whatever we possess of wealth. This is what the spirits asked of old. Let us therefore put the kettle on and prepare the feast.

"This is the way in which we prepare the feast. I offer only one small kettle. Here is my offering. I pray that what I offer may suffice and bring enough blessings from the spirits to include all the

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539 The host at the same time puts himself in readiness to receive the guests.

[538] The two drums to be used are placed in the proper position with tobacco on top as an offering. The two gourds to be used are arranged in the same way, with offerings of tobacco on top. These four articles are placed in a row in front of the host, who pours tobacco upon them again and asks them for life.

[782] The host now rises and speaks as follows (first, however, offering tobacco to the fire, and telling the people of his own band how he had obtained his blessing, and from what source it had come):

796 "Grandfathers, when you blessed my grandfather with life you
776 promised that as often as we would boil food for you and offer you a
539 pipeful of tobacco, you would smoke it. So it has been said. Boiled
575 water from an animal whom you considered the same as our own body, and spirit food he extended to you, as well as a pipeful of tobacco. This we also are sending you. And what could we ask of you in return but war? That it may be directed toward us, we pray you. Grandfathers, you who are called Happy Nights, when you blessed our grandfather you blessed him with endless war. So it has been said. That is what we ask for, that as you blessed our grandfather, so you bless us. We ask for the same things. You, likewise, grandfather, you who are called The-one-with-rounded-wood, when you blessed my grandfather you blessed him with life. That is what he said, and you asked him in return to make offerings of tobacco. Here is the tobacco. This night we are going to ask life of you. We desire that you give us and all who will be here to-night, life. As many people as will be seated here, we ask life for all of them."

Then all who are present rise and, holding tobacco in each hand, walk around the lodge, pouring tobacco on the drums and the [782] gourds, and some of it into the fire. They pour tobacco into the fire for the Night Spirits. For the Beings-with-rounded-wood they offer tobacco by pouring it upon the drums. The offering is made both to the drums and to the gourds directly. The tobacco bundles tied to the invitation sticks are offered to the four cardinal points and the four specially invited guests smoke this tobacco, because they are supposed to represent the four cardinal points. Behind the respective invited guests are placed two women, next to the wall, so that they might lead in the dance. When the invited guests come to the feast these women remain outside until the starting songs have been begun.

[535] The host sings these songs first and when he has finished the first invited guest enters the lodge, ejaculating peculiar sounds (that are probably meant as greetings). Continuing these sounds, he walks around the lodge until he comes to the place from which he has started. There he stops and speaks. "You who obtain life, you

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that council, relatives, all who are seated here, I greet you. It is good that you have taken pity upon me. All those that I have along with me, my relatives, you have caused them to think that they were to obtain life; that a great life was to come to us through you. And all this you have done when we were leading worthless lives. It is good. If such an invitation were to be extended to people when they are sick and weakly, it would heal them; it would overcome their illness, it is said. It is good. When I think that our sick people will get well by reason of this feast, I am thankful. Up to the present our children have all been sickly, but from now on we will have no cause to worry. I am thankful. The principal tree of the night-soldiers, standing in front of their doorway and which is in full bloom, has not a dead leaf upon it, not one that has dried. It is beautiful to look upon. They obtained it for us and caused it to come down to us, and we feel grateful. It will strengthen our families. This lodge that we have entered is like the first lodge (the night-soldiers' lodge), and just as we were strengthened by it, so will we surely be strengthened by entering this lodge to-day. In the night-soldiers' lodge fine white feathers are scattered all over the ground, ankle deep, it is said. As we are about to go over the past, we certainly will be strengthened thereby. The lodge of the night-soldiers was fair to behold from the inside, we are told. We will consider ourselves blest with life to-day, even although we are not children of the night-blessed ones, and even although we will not be able to conduct ourselves as it is meet. We will, however, do what we can in order to obtain life. You children of the night-blessed ones, who are seated around here, I greet you."

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Then he sings the entrance songs and walks around the lodge. His singing is generally finished at about the time that he has made the complete circuit of the lodge. Then he starts around the lodge again uttering the peculiar sounds mentioned before, until he comes to the seat of the host. There he stops and makes a circle in the air (with his hand) and addresses him as follows:

[533]

"I greet you. A great day has come to me and all my relatives have tasted thereof in the hope that they might thereby be strengthened. I have also brought along with me a pipeful of tobacco to be given to you, that we may all be strengthened. So it is said. It is for that reason that I am acting thus and am greeting you."

With these words he concluded and walked to the place that had been assigned him in the lodge, opposite the host and, still standing, he said the following: "Children of the night-blessed spirits who are seated here around me, I greet you all. The councilor, I mean the host, has seen fit to give me and my relatives a seat. We will sit in it so that we may be strengthened thereby. We will now take our seats, but before that let me send forth my greetings to all."

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plant and blessed him with long life and with victorious warpaths. He asked to be remembered by Hodja'noka in his offerings. The buffalo-spirit told him that if he would pour tobacco for him, and give feasts and make offerings of eagle feathers, the blessings he had given him would last forever.

"All these blessings were handed down to my father. These I also was taught. This life do we pray for and we have asked you all to come and help us. We thank you for it. As soon as the attendants are finished with the preparation of the food then we will eat. Our servants may perhaps burn their hands while preparing the food, but they will obtain life by so doing. Those who possess war bundles are always told to help one another and I know that you have come here for that reason. Life I am seeking and that is why I am giving this feast. Help me, all you owners of bundles who are present here. I will now sing some of the songs that Hodja'noka taught us. You who have obtained blessings, I greet you."

Then he sang the following songs:

Song 1

Nangwa hemo'xi hiwiñ. (Repeat.)
In the road walk let him do.

Song 2

Hodja'noka hamani'winé. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka Walk by.

Song 3

Khu Hodja'noka hamani'winé.
Say, Hodjanoka Walk by.

Dancing song

Hodja'noka trawavi'ro. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka go toward.
Ereho'no. (Repeat twice.) Wigo'té. (Repeat twice.)
It is coming say to them.

As soon as Hodja'noka finished his songs, then all the objects (drum, gourds, etc.) were passed to He-who-strikes-the-earth-with-his-wings, and he rose and spoke:

"Brother-in-law, councilors, relatives, all who are seated here, I greet you. You who have been blessed with bundles, I greet likewise. You are taking the place of the spirits. It is good. We are trying to encourage one another and we have come to help you. We have brought you food for the feast. We also are desirous of obtaining long life and that is why we have brought our offerings, for we know the buffalo-spirits will accept them, as they are very tempting. You who are taking the place of the spirits, I greet you."

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other dancers were with all his strength restored. Then he walked to the ma^{n}warup'uru, took some earth, rubbed it on his wounds, and they were healed immediately. There was only one wound that he could not heal, which was situated on a part of his back that he could not reach with his hands."

He sang many songs while dancing. These songs were the ones that the spirits had taught him when they blessed him.

GRIZZLY BEAR SONGS

1

Newine'na newine'na ha^{n}pire^{n}nê.
I am he, I am he, the day it is I.

2

Ha'na^{n}ninxgu^{n}ne'k'tce hiningai'rê nink'tca'i^{n}ninkara d,anûgga'grê.
That you would be you were by the children as many as there are.
listened to told

3

Ma^{n}tcô'ja^{n} ho'dadjohi'rera.
The grizzly bear was starting to roam.

4

Wa'wonatca^{n}t'i^{n} nihe'ka.
Shouting you can hear him.
Ho'ratca^{n}t'i^{n} nihe'ka.
His voice you can hear.

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2. Types of songs: The songs may be divided into two groups. (1) Those that are sung in connection with myths and after the speeches of a more general nature, and (2) those that are sung to accompany definite and specific actions. These latter can therefore be most conveniently divided into (*a*) minor dance songs, (*b*) major dance songs, (*c*) initial songs, (*d*) terminal songs, (*e*) loading songs, and (*f*) shooting songs. The medicine men distinguish only between four kinds of songs: major and minor dance, terminal, and shooting songs. Each has a different rhythm and music. For purposes of description, however, the above division is more convenient. 796 756 533

3. Types of action: (1) Blessing: Either hand is held outstretched, palm downward, and moved horizontally through the air. It is always used when entering and leaving the lodge and on any occasion where an individual has to pass from one part of the lodge to another. 756 788

It is always rendered as "blessing" by the Indians, and they particularly insist upon the fact that the "blessing" was not conveyed by any words used in connection with the action, but by the action itself. Each person who is thus passed answers with a long-drawn-out "*ho o o*" and with an obeisance of the head.

A modification of the above is the "blessing of the head," which consists of a simple laying of the hand upon the head, both the giver and the recipient keeping their eyes fixed upon the ground, the recipient slightly bending his head. A few mumbled words accompany this action.

(2) Direction of walking in the lodge: Individuals always walk contrary to the hands of the clock. A person in the east hand must make the entire circuit of the lodge in order to pass out. In only exceptional cases can this rule of passing be broken, and that is when an old and especially privileged member crosses from his seat to that directly opposite him during the shooting ceremony. I was given to understand that this was an extremely expensive privilege. 756 796 823

4. Types of ritual: Parts III, IV, and V can be so analyzed that they fall into a fairly well-defined number of units, consisting of speeches, songs, and movements. These units are nine in number. Artificial distinctions have been avoided in this division, as far as possible. The units are (1) entrance ritual; (2) exit ritual; (3) fire ritual; (4) presentation-of-food ritual; (5) shooting ritual; (6) initiation ritual; (7) sweat-lodge ritual; (8) smoking ritual; (9) basic ritual. 796 756

Of these, (3), (5), (7), (8), and (9) are found in Part III; all except (7) and (6) in Part IV (*a*); and all except (7) in Part IV (*b*). (5) does not actually occur in Part III, but is described in detail in the myth related there. The order in which we will discuss these ceremonial units is not the order in which they follow one another in the ritual. Some are interwoven with one another. Both these factors will, however, be considered in the description of the entire ritual, following the description of each ceremonial unit.

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THE HERUCKA DANCE

535 574 The *Herucka* is a social dance and is frequently given when visitors from other tribes are present, presents being given on this occasion. Men and women take part in it and are generally dressed in their best clothes. A few customs that were noticed at a performance in 1908 might be mentioned here.

If a man drops anything during the dance he himself may not pick it up. Only a warrior who has been wounded has the right to do so. The object dropped is returned to the owner, who, however, must always give it to his sister or niece.

It is at times customary for a man to dress himself in rags and beg for food, etc. He generally represents himself as an extremely poor man and pictures his destitution in a manner best calculated to amuse everyone. [525]

Wagers of horses are very commonly made at this dance.

The dances indulged in are mainly victory dances and the songs known as *Herucka* songs are always victory songs. Many borrowed songs are sung at this dance. [533]

A large drum is always used, around which sometimes as many as 10 drummers sit. The drum consists of an ordinary tub over which skin has been tightly drawn. It is supported by two carved sticks, to which it is firmly attached, so that the bottom is about a foot from the ground. It is painted in the following manner: Two rather narrow lines of paint across the center of the drum, one blue and the other green. The portion of the drum next to the yellow line is painted blue, and that next to the blue line red. No meanings for the colors were obtained. [534] [531]

WATCONAŊK'ĘWĘ FEAST
(AFRAID-TO-EAT-GREENS FEAST)

241 785 262 Informant, member of Beaver clan: Just about roasting-ear month people would commence to fast and continue until the green corn is ripe enough to be eaten. They fast so that all the plants may strengthen the tribe.

The fast generally takes place in a special lodge, from under which all the grass has been cut, for the faster must not come in contact with anything that is green. When the fasting is over a feast is given at which all those present eat "greens" for the first time.

THE CAPTIVE'S DEATH DANCE

727 535 Before putting a captive to death it is customary to tie his arms behind him in such a manner that his hands have a little freedom. Then they put a gourd in his right hand and a lance in his left hand

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and permit him to dance and sing. This is called the *waygnigke-i*[a] dance."

"So then the turtle was told to dance his death dance—i. e., *waygnigke-i*[a] dance. Both of his arms were tied behind above the elbows. Only thus was he permitted to walk. His wrists were tied in front, so that he could not stretch out his arms. His ankles were tied in such a way that he could not take any long steps. He carried a gourd in one hand and a sacred object in the other, and with these he danced up and down the village, performing his death dance and singing and shaking his gourd. Many people came to see him. He stopped and changed his song, singing, "O death, O death! You young women come here to see me. I am anxious for death."

. . .

(It seems that it is customary to grant any wish the captive makes while dancing this dance.)

The Farewell Dance

When a person is about to go on the warpath he goes around the village dancing and asking for volunteers to accompany him. New volunteers join him as he dances and sings. When the dancing is over these volunteers tell the people how their forefathers encouraged them to go on the warpath, etc.

At the beginning and end of each song they strike their mouths with their hands and give a whoop.

FAREWELL SONGS

I

Hi'shé wojo'ji yare'na[a] da'ru[a] wa'gháenagre waja[a] ana'gaxe; hi'she
Truth he speaks I hope, war leaders, what he says, truth
wojo'ji yare'na[a].
he tells I hope.

II

Cuykana'gaxe je'she hidanaghik'i[a]na detch'ghera wanga'ninge: je'she
These dogs like I think of myself war leader a man I am: Thus
hidanaghik'i[a]na.
I think of myself.
(I. e., I don't value my life any more than that of a dog.)

III

Jige' ya'ragwi'na[a] waja[a] a'i[a]p'ana'i[a]na detru'ghera; jige' yare'na[a].
Again I desire it something a long time war leader; again I desire
(I. e., it is a long time since I have been on the warpath.)

IV

Ga ai'ecke zawa'nighkrane'na[a] detru[a] wughera'ecke zawa'nighkranena[a]
Even that they say will disappear war leader even he will disappear.
(I. e., I don't value my life any more than the war-leader does.)

[a] The following description of this dance, contained in one of the versions of the myth, "Turtle on the warpath," is no doubt fairly accurate.

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The soldier dance is a hop up and down with both feet and in no particular order, anywhere around the singers. It is held in the open air.

SOLDIER DANCE SONGS

I

Manaŋp'ᵉ'ra naᵃjiᵉwinᵉ.
Soldiers get up.

II

Waɣaᵃnijaᵃ teexigi'jį naᵃjiᵉ'aᵃsįjᵉ.
Something difficult get ready.
(I. e., whenever there is anything difficult to do you must get ready.)

III

Manaŋp'ᵉ'ra newineᵉ'naᵃ huᵉ'nagiredra.
Soldiers I am he whom they spoke of.

IV

Manaŋp'ᵉ'ra hi'jaᵃ wineᵉ'naᵃ.
Soldier one I am.
(I. e., I am a soldier, and if there is anything to do I'll do it.)

Ceremony of Uangeru

(Begging ceremony)

A dummy is made of grass and dressed with whatever objects the maker wants to get. If he wants a horse he puts a bridle crosswise around the body of the dummy; if he wants clothes, he dresses him up in Indian clothes. Then the man places this dummy anywhere near a gathering, or where he expects a gathering to take place. He sits near it. As soon as any warrior sees the dummy he goes over to it and either kicks or strikes the man who made it, giving him at the same time one of the objects he wanted. Any person may do the same. They may not stop kicking the man until some warrior who had at some time or another cut up an enemy in war cuts up the dummy. Then all stop, and as soon as his bruises permitted him, the man would get up and pick up the gifts brought to him.

Feast to Buffalo Tail

A grandfather of mine called Cokeboka fasted at Neceda, Wis. There he was blessed by a young buffalo bull calf belonging to a herd. The calf said, as the herd went by, "Father, keep going in the road; mother, keep going in the road." He meant a warpath instead of the road they were going in. The man was to go on a warpath, from which he would return victorious.

They used to make offerings to this tail alone, apart from the war bundle. The braided grass was to be used for smoking. The feast is given in spring after the grass grows up, and in midwinter. Ground corn is boiled in making the feast.

Kikre Waci and Tcebokonaᵃk Dances

There is a pleasure dance called *kikre waci* and a dance called *tcebokonaᵃk* (wearing buffalo headdresses). The latter is of Sioux origin.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE PEYOTE CULT

General Description

794 Owing to the great importance of one of the modern cults found among the Winnebago, the so-called Mescal or Peyote, it will be discussed here in some detail. Not only is this cult of great prominence in the life of the modern Winnebago, but as its inception and progress can be followed out in considerable detail it is of great significance for the study of their religion.

[346] The ceremony is generally held in a building called by the Peyote worshipers a church, although it frequently takes place in the open also. In the early days of its organization as many meetings as possible were held. In 1910 there was a tendency to restrict the number and to have them generally take place on Saturday night. In 1913, after the first enthusiasm of the new converts had died out, the author was informed that the meetings were rarely held more than once a week. Around Christmas and beginning with July a series of meetings was held, lasting from a week to 10 days, as a rule. The Christmas meetings were not prominent in 1910, but the July ones seem to have been held from the beginning. They represent, of course, merely a substitution for the older pagan ceremonies and games that were held about that time.

796 In the early days the ceremony was opened by a prayer from the 794 founder, and this was followed by an introductory speech. Thereupon the leader sang a Peyote song, to the accompaniment of a drum. [533] Then another speech was delivered, and when it was finished the drum and other regalia were passed to the man to the right. This man, in turn, delivered a speech and sang a song, and when he was finished, passed the regalia to the third man, who subsequently passed it to the fourth one. The fourth man, when he was finished, returned it to the leader. In this way the regalia passed from one person to another throughout the night. It not infrequently happens that one of these four gets tired and gives up his place temporarily to some other member of the cult. At intervals they stopped to eat [276] or drink peyote. At about midnight the peyote, as a rule, begins to affect some people. These generally arise and deliver self-accusatory [583] speeches, and make more or less formal confessions, after which they go around shaking hands with everyone and asking forgiveness.

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the Trinity." Then all sit down and the leader makes the regular announcements. The peyote is then passed around, either in the dry condition or steeped. The leader thereupon starts the singing. These are some of the songs:

1. Ask God for life and he will give it to us.
2. God created us so pray to him.
3. To the home of Jesus we are going, so pray to him.
4. Come ye to the road of the Son of God; come ye to the road.

Then Albert Hensley calls upon 12 educated members to translate and interpret certain portions of the Bible for the nonreading members. He arranges with the leader to have the singing stop at certain places so that some of these young men can speak. When these are finished, other individuals are called upon to give testimony. Hensley always talks and so does Rave.

John Rave baptizes by dipping his hand in a diluted infusion of peyote and rubbing it across the forehead of a new member, saying, "I baptize thee in the name of God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which is called God's Holiness."

The peyote eaters wanted to get baptized and unite with the church in Winnebago, but the clergyman in charge would not permit them, so they went and did their own baptizing through their leader, John Rave, who, though he is not educated, is full of real intelligence and religion.

If a person who is truly repentant eats peyote for the first time, he does not suffer at all from its effects. But if an individual is bullheaded, does not believe in its virtue, he is likely to suffer a good deal. This I know from my own experience. After eating peyote I grasped the meaning of the Bible, which before had been meaningless to me.

If a person eats peyote and does not repent openly, he has a guilty conscience, which leaves him as soon as the public repentance has been made.

Old men and women who had been brought up to worship animals and all kinds of spirits have cast them all away and in many instances burned their idols, not because they were told to do so but because they felt that way.

Whenever at our meetings a person wishes to pray, he does so; when he wishes to cry, he does so. Indeed, we show no timidity about worshiping God in the right way. In the Bible one often reads of Christ casting out the devils and of the people shouting, etc. So does the peyote act on us in the beginning, although afterwards its effects abate.

If a peyote eater relapses into his old way of living, then the peyote causes him great suffering.

At first our meetings were started without any rule laid down by the Bible, but afterwards we found a very good reason for holding

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and, going to his seat, where all the other objects are spread out, he sits down and prays. He prays that all the participants may be strengthened by the prospective meeting. He offers up thanks for the peyote and prays that all may be in the proper spirit that night. Then he throws the needles in the fire and holds the peyote over the smoke of the cedar. When this has been finished he returns to his seat, eats one peyote, and gives one to the drummer. After they have eaten these he passes four peyote in turn to those on his left until the peyote comes to the one sitting nearest the door. Four peyote are given to the one nearest the door that he, in turn, may pass them to those on the other side of the door and so on until the leader is reached again. Before the peyote is eaten, the leader gets up and talks. He instructs the people as to the nature of the meeting and tells them that those who wish to go out must do so after the midnight water is drunk and not until after the leader returns from outside. No one is to go out while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote. He then speaks of the special prayers that are to be offered up and asks them to offer general prayers for all nonmembers and even for their enemies. After that the leader again offers up a prayer and smokes all the objects he had spread before his seat. Then the songs are to start, all, however, first eating peyote.

(When the fire first starts and thereafter, throughout the night, it is supposed to represent light, just as God said, "Let there be light.")

[533] The first song is always the same and is called the starting song. Those that follow are peyote songs. When he has finished these songs he passes the singing staff to the right of the drummer. When this one has finished the staff is returned to the leader, who passes it on to the left, and then in rotation it goes to the one sitting near the door. The drum, when it is handed on, is always passed under the staff. The fire is always replenished, but toward midnight special care is taken in this regard and the coals are placed in the shape of a crescent between the fire and the earth crescent, and the fireman sweeps first around the left and then around the right side. Then exactly at midnight the leader calls for his singing staff and his drum, no matter where they happen to be, and, taking the singing [533] staff and sending the drum to the drummer, he blows his flute and sings. The song he sings then is called the midnight song. After that three peyote songs are sung, it making no difference which they are. As the leader starts his midnight song the fireman takes up his position at the doorway opposite the fireplace and the leader. When the second song is started the fireman turns around to the right and goes out and gets water and soon comes back with it. When he reenters he makes the figure of a cross on the ground where [788] he stood just before he left and places water on it. Then he squats down on his knees.

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When the leader stops singing he walks to the crescent by the fireplace and begins praying again. After the prayer he burns some more cedar needles. The reason for drinking water at midnight is because Christ was born at midnight and because of the good tidings that he brought to the earth, for water is one of the best things in life and Christ is the savior of mankind. After the leader has made his prayer and the cedar is burned, then the fireman reaches over toward the smoke and makes a motion with his body as if he were drawing the smoke over himself. He then takes the water and brings it over to the leader. The leader takes a bunch of feathers and, dipping it into the water, sprinkles it on the peyote, then on the fire, on the sage, and finally all over the lodge, beginning with the doorway and then going around. The water is then drunk in a regular order, first by the leader, then by the drummer, and then by all the other people. After all these things have been done the leader returns the staff to the man from whom he had taken it at midnight. As soon as this man starts the singing again the leader takes his flute and goes outside. He goes toward the east for a short distance, and there he sits down and offers up a prayer for the people. Then he blows his flute, and going to the south of the lodge repeats the same procedure. This is also repeated for the west and the north. When the singing within the lodge has stopped, he returns and takes his seat.

The purpose of going to the four directions and blowing the flute is to announce the birth of Christ to all the world.

After the leader has reentered the singing continues as before. At daybreak the fireman fixes the fire in the same way as at midnight. The staff, drum, etc., is now passed to the leader, who as soon as he has received everything takes his flute and blows on it. Before doing this, however, he puts on his otter-skin cap. The purpose of blowing the flute just at that time is to represent the trumpet of the Day of Judgment, when Christ will appear wearing His crown in all glory. The putting on of the otter-skin cap represents the crown.

The song used on this occasion is called the water song. After the first song is finished the fireman opens the door and a woman enters carrying water, which she pours over the cross which the fireman had sprinkled at midnight. The fireman then spreads something for her to sit on, between the water and the door.

When the leader has finished his four songs, he lays down his staff, etc., and, taking some cedar needles, offers up a prayer of thanks, and as he finishes he throws the cedar into the fire and sits down while the woman gathers the smoke toward her in the same way as the fireman had done on the previous night. Then the leader takes a drinking cup and sends it toward the woman. The

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After the buckskins have been marked the host arranges them on frames. The buckskin to Earthmaker is so arranged on its frame that the head points upward; that to the Thunderbirds is so arranged that its head points toward the west; that to the Night Spirits, that its head points to the east; that to the Morning Star, that its head points to the east; and those to the Earth and Water, that their heads point downward. After they have been attached to the frame they are rolled up, and the ceremony can be said to have begun. Then the guests enter, no order being observed in the manner of entering. As soon as they have all taken their places, the oldest warrior belonging to the host's band is called upon to offer tobacco to the spirits. This he does by going to the main fireplace, offering up brief prayers, and at the conclusion of each one pouring tobacco into the fire. The first prayer is always to the fire itself.[1] When he is finished, the host takes the buckskins, unrolls them, and distributes them to the various guests. The buckskin for the Thunderbirds is always given to the guest of honor, and the others are given in the following rotation: Great Black Hawk, Disease-giver, South Wind, Earthmaker, Sun, Morning Star, Night Spirits, Moon, Earth, and Water. The buckskin to Earthmaker is assigned to the middle guest, but as he is the first guest to speak, the buckskin itself is hung on the center pole that is erected in the front portion of the lodge.

After the guests have received their buckskins they stand in their respective positions, holding the buckskin in one hand and some tobacco in the other. The host concludes his remarks, and then taking his flute, blows upon it. After this he sings two songs, accompanying himself with his gourd rattles. Then the buckskins are rolled up again, but in such a way that the markings still remain visible, and hung up just west of the first fireplace, with the exception of the Earthmaker's buckskin. The host now takes the war bundle, opens it, and places it at the foot of the center pole. He then makes the circuit of the lodge, pouring some tobacco into the hands of each invited guest. When this is finished, he pours some tobacco upon the war bundle and some into the fire and proceeds to offer prayers to all the spirits, asking each in turn for life and victory on the war-path. When he is through all the guests pour tobacco on the war bundle and into the fire. Children are often allowed to pour tobacco also, the attendants bringing them from the western portion of the lodge. After the offerings of tobacco are finished the offerings of buckskin are made. Then the basic ritual is started by the host. He takes the flutes, drum, and gourds and sings in his own place. There are many different sets of songs, and every time he starts a different set he first blows upon his flute. The songs for the Thunderbird have eight starting songs and six dancing songs. When the

[1] This prayer, for some unknown reason, is omitted in the following account. It was obtained, however, in connection with another account of the same ceremony.

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through, the buckskin is taken down, unrolled, and the thunder-buck- 796x
skin given to the band sitting opposite the host. The other buckskins 782
are then distributed in rotation, except that the buckskin to Earth-
maker is given to the guest who occupies the middle position in the
lodge. All the guests remain standing with their unrolled buckskins,
holding them by the sticks and keeping tobacco in their other hand,
while the old man speaks to them and blows first upon a flute. Then,
to the accompaniment of a gourd, he sings two songs. After that the
buckskins are rolled up again in such a way that the markings remain
visible, and hung up again on sticks that are placed near the individual
invited guests, just west of the first fireplace. There they have a pole
for Earthmaker, at whose foot the war bundle is placed and opened.
Tobacco is then poured into the hands of each of the invited guests by
the host. He offers tobacco especially for those individuals for whom
he has prepared buckskins and kettles, asking each of them in turn
for life and for victory on the warpath. When he finishes he pours
some tobacco into the fire and some upon the war bundle. All the
persons invited then, in turn, do the same. If the host has any chil-
dren present in the lodge, he has them do the same. Children are
always escorted by the attendant. The host now takes the gourds,
drum, etc., and, remaining in his own place, sings different sets of
songs. As often as he starts a new set, he blows upon his flute. The
songs of the Thunderbird consist of eight starting songs, sung slowly, [533]
six dancing songs, etc. As soon as the dancing songs are begun, all
the men in the lodge come around the war bundle and dance, blowing
the flute, etc. Women may dance likewise, but they must remain in [562]
that part of the tent especially assigned to them.

Before the contents of the kettle are cooked the host sings four sets 796x
of songs. As soon as the first set has been started the attendants get 276
as many pipes as possible and bring them to the war bundle. They
also place there a large pipe with stem directed toward the west and
a large pile of tobacco. These pipes are then passed back to the
various guests in order to be smoked.

After the first set of songs is over the large pipe is taken and lit
by one of the attendants and passed around the lodge, in ceremonial
manner, each member taking a puff and passing it to the next one.
When the songs to the Disease-giver are sung, the pipe is placed
against the center pole with stem directed south. Before the Disease-
giver songs are sung the story of their origin is told. At the end of
the last of the initial songs the old man with tobacco in each hand
says *Ho—o —o —o—!* He then pours tobacco into the fireplace. He is
really presenting it to the Disease-giver. Then dancing songs are [782
used as before. Usually dog meat is put in the kettle designed for 262]
the Disease-giver.

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the spirits. We will try also to use some of the songs that were taught to the owner of the bundle when he was blessed. We will perhaps make you smoke poor tobacco and tire you out by making you sit too long, and we will probably keep you hungry too long, but we know that you have served at these feasts and that this ceremony is good and that you know how to carry it on. It is good that you act thus. They say that if we sit up all night at a feast we will be able to obtain victory in war and long life. For this purpose you have come here and intend to sit with us. We are very glad. We will be at your service and as soon as the attendants have the food ready you shall receive some. To those sitting in the place of the setting of the sun, the Thunderers, we will sing the songs they taught our grandfather. We will attempt to sing them for you. If we can remember them, we will use about four."

After he has concluded, the members of his band sing the Thunderbird songs and when they are finished they sing the dancing songs. [533]

When these are over the host speaks again.

"Sons of wars, I greet you. We are delivering our speeches as fast as possible. When our grandfather was blessed he fasted, denying himself water. He suffered much. It was then that the spirits had compassion upon him. One of the spirits met him in broad daylight, one day, at noon. He blessed him with victory in war and with the life, or good half, of his body,[1] and with the right to hand on this blessing for generations. As long as the people offer red feathers and tobacco and make feasts in his honor, so long will he not trouble them with disease. He said that these were the things he liked—clog, red feathers, and tobacco. These are the things that we accordingly offer him. We will now use his songs, which are in another language. I suppose we will make a great many mistakes, but it is said that even if a person knows only one song he should try and use it, for through it victory in war and long life can be obtained. With this thought before us we will try. We were also told that we must leave nothing undone.

"Sons of wars, and you who represent the spirits, I greet you." [533]

Now the slow songs are sung, and after they are finished, the dance songs. Then the host rises and speaks again.

"Sons of war, I greet you. After we have used four lots of songs we will have the feast. The attendants will have the food ready about that time. The songs that we will attempt to sing will be Thunderbird songs and the songs of the different spirits that accompany this bundle, the Sun, the Moon, the Morning Star, the Earth, the Water, the Daylight, and the Eagle. The songs of all of these spirits we will try to use and sing.

[1] Evidently it was the Dreamer who blessed him.

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796 would have used were he alive do I ask of you. And if we take the
539 feathers that are in this war bundle on the warpath, may it so happen
782 that even if we see only one enemy we may be the ones to have the
776 war honor. This is what we ask of you and for this we offer tobacco to you.

"To you, Hare, do we offer tobacco. Here it is. The blessing you bestowed on our grandfather, that we ask of you, the so-called nephew. Victory in war and life we ask, should we ever go on the warpath; that we may conquer without effort and that we may be safe in the midst of the weapons of our enemies.

"To you, the Turtle, we offer tobacco. Here it is. Men's tobacco we offer you that you may fill your pipe. Our offerings are lacking in every respect, for we have no kettle for you. But we can not offend you, it is said. You have, in truth, power in war and that is why we ask you for victory in war. Grandfather, we offer you tobacco.

"To you, grandmother, the Earth, do we offer tobacco. We offer you men's tobacco. We ask victory in war from you. When our grandfather made a bundle of spirit-power, you added your power. For that reason we have been keeping tobacco for you. Here it is. Grandmother, we offer tobacco to you.

"To all those who have blessed our grandfather with spirit-power—for we do not know you all—we offer tobacco to those on earth and to those above. It is our desire that you bless us with the blessings you conferred upon our grandfather. Grandfathers, warriors, I greet you all. I am sorry that I have been boring you with my talk, and that I have perhaps made you smoke too much. But we wish to obtain victory and life, and it is said that patience gains both of these. Knowing this, you have faithfully sat through this whole ceremony. I thank you, and yet I must ask more of you. I must ask that the drum and songs be sent around the lodge as soon as I get through singing. As the Nights go around the earth at night so will the drum go around this lodge. I will now use the songs of the Nights, that is what I mean. Warriors, I greet you."

● [533] After singing slow songs he sings dancing songs, and then he speaks again:

"Warriors, I greet you. As I said before, you may sing the songs of the Nights. Your songs are certainly more spirit-like, and they have the power of obtaining life. I now send the drum to you."

Then the attendants take the drum, together with some tobacco, and carry it across the lodge, to a place opposite the host, and place it in front of one of the guests belonging to another clan. He also puts some tobacco in the hands of this person. Then the one about to sing rises and speaks as follows:

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"Feast-givers and relatives, as well as you guests who are present, I greet you all. It is good that I have been honored by being placed in the path of the drum. It is said that so great is the sacredness attached to this affair that one must not refuse to accept the drum as it passes around the lodge. I also feel honored at the offering of tobacco. Indeed I feel saved, and I pray that whosoever comes in contact with these things may be strengthened thereby. As soon as I have offered the tobacco I will use the songs of our fathers. We do not know them as well as we ought to, but we will try nevertheless. It is said that if you only know one song, you must try to use it even to the point of tears; just as it is said, that if you cry after a victory you must put aside all sense of shame. Thinking of these things I will now try to sing. Tobacco I offer you."

He throws it into the fire, saying at the same time, "Grandfathers, Night Spirits, I offer you tobacco. I know that we will spoil your songs, but it is said that you are merciful and that you will sing them again to yourselves correctly. If we make any mistakes have pity on us, grandfathers, and we ask you to walk faster so that daylight may come soon. Here is the tobacco. We offer it to you."

Then he sings slow songs, and then dancing songs. One of the attendants now comes forward with tobacco in his hand, and takes the drum and moves it to another of the invited guests. He also gives this person some tobacco. This one then rises and thanks all the other people in general and says approximately the same as the man before him, praising them for all the things he could think of, accepting the tobacco, and then offering it to the spirits and to the fire. He particularly asks the Nights to walk faster so that morning might come to them sooner. After he sings his songs, which like the others are Night songs, the drum is taken and moved to another of the invited guests. Thus it passes from one to another until it has made the entire circuit of the lodge. Generally at about dawn it reaches the place of the host, from where it had started on the previous day. He sings certain songs which are called the old night songs, because the old nights are not supposed to come until approaching daylight and because their hair is white from age. When they come they bring light. All those who may perhaps have fallen asleep at this time either wake up or are awakened, for the Nights who now come are old and carry canes which, when directed toward a sleeping person, causes him to die. After the host has finished the old night songs he sings the dancing songs.

The buckskins are then taken down and carried around the lodge. All those present now arise and dance in their special places, as the buckskin passes them. The host and his invited guests now take their buckskins in one hand, holding tobacco at the same time, and pass around the lodge in single file. Thus they go around the lodge

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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four times. The fourth time they make the circuit they stop at the first fireplace and throw the buckskins through the holes of the lodge. It is supposed that the old Night Spirits seize them at this moment and carry them up to the sky with them. The singing now ceases, and all the people take their seats again. The drum is now taken and placed in front of the host's place. He thereupon rises and speaks as follows:

"Ye warriors, as many as you are who are sitting here, I greet. It is good that you have complied with my wishes and that the spirits have already taken their buckskins and their food, and that they have left our presence. But nevertheless we will sing our last song, even if it appears that they are being sung into empty space. I know that you have already had compassion upon me, even although I am making you suffer with hunger, but let us, nevertheless, sing one more song, and then we can rest. My grandfather used these songs in time of war, and never did he miss a war honor when using them. These we will now use. You, warriors, and those of you who possess holy paints, it must seem shameful to you for me to speak this way. For we have no holy paint. However, we will not sing them with the intention of making people believe that we have holy paints, but simply because we have used them in war and found them good. That is why I am about to use them now, and that is why they belong to this bundle. Warriors, you may hear. Know you that I will use these songs in seeking victory and life. Nor will the dancing be limited merely to those who possess paint, but to anyone of the warriors here present. This will be the last dancing song. I greet you all."

[535]

Then he sings some songs, both the slow and the dancing songs. After that he rises and says the following:

"Warriors who are seated here, I greet you. I suppose it is enough that I have made you suffer with hunger all night. As soon as the attendants can get around to it the food will be placed before you again. I know that it will be lacking in every respect, but let me appeal to your good natures. On this first fireplace there is going to be a kettle for the Disease-giver. A four-legged animal, one of his own members, we will offer to him, together with tobacco and deerskins. We are also going to send to him a little four-legged animal, one with whom our children have been fond of playing. He is now in front of us. Whoever wishes to offer tobacco to the Disease-giver can do so now, and as soon as the feast is over and the bones are gathered, we will take them and, strewing tobacco upon them, place them outside. Let me tell you again that anyone who wishes may offer tobacco and ask of the Disease-giver that he keep illness away from him. Women are not permitted to partake of this kettle, so see to it that only men eat of it. As I said before,

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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skins ready. Then they told them to make some invitation sticks. Only four invitation sticks were to be made, and they were to tie tobacco to each of them. The lodge was now ready (fig. 36). They had fixed the vertical poles and had tied them with prickly cedar sinews. The vertical poles they painted blue.

[202] Then he who was to be the host told the attendants to take the invitation sticks to certain people. "Bring the first one to my friend, Manuba'ga. See that you give it to him. I am sure that he will be here soon after. The second stick you may give to Ka-o'saga. The third one you may give to Mazihimain'jga. Be sure that you bring them to all those who possess war bundles."

The attendant did as he was told and returned and told the host that it was done. "I have seen all of them and told them to make ready. They will soon come and sit down."

All were now in the lodge and were seated. The old man, Kari'ga, was the host. All his posterity were there. He had placed meat in the kettles over the fireplaces. The first kettle was for Earthmaker and the second for Turtle. "Put them on," he said to the attendants. "Put the third one on for the Thunderbird, and the fourth one for the Fire, the fifth one for the Earth, the sixth one for the Morning Star, the seventh one for Without Horn, and the eighth one for the Nights. Then put on a small kettle for Disease-giver and a full kettle for the Ruce'we.

"*Hoo*, we will pour tobacco for them my friend, Manuba'ga. Whenever we can obtain a 'counciling' we always do this, for in that way we help one another. You who are sitting here for me, bundle owners, as many of you as there are within this lodge who are taking the place of the spirits, all of you I greet. War-bundle owners, all of us are thus. When you obtain a council feast for yourselves, then you will help one another. We are putting ourselves in a very pitiable condition, so you must have thought of us, and that is why you came at our bidding. It is good. And we are going to make you fearfully tired. But I beg of you, nevertheless, to continue until the end. We are now going to sing."

They get up and the guests hold tobacco in their hands. Then they sing and weep. The one who was fasting at that time stood at the war bundle crying. Then they sang the following songs:

[533]

Human, four chunks of meat I give you.
Human, four chunks of meat you will eat.
I made it for you, for you who carry the war bundle.

[782] Thus they spoke standing and weeping, pouring tobacco upon the war bundle. This they did. Then Turtle songs were used. That is what they call them. After that they used Thunderbird songs, and [533] then what are called friends' songs. Finally they used the songs they obtained when Disease-giver blessed them. Four songs they

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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had given them. Then songs that were associated with the drum that they use in the Night-Spirit dance were sung. The feast was now ready.

"Make ready the kettle in front of the fireplace; take the most prominent parts of the animal out of it; make the second kettle you put on also ready. Hurry up, for we are about to have a fast-eating contest. The lower clans and the upper clans will contest. They will try to partake of war. Make ready. You, Manuba'ga choose a person, and do you, Kayo'saga, do the same."

Now they were ready to have the fast-eating contest. They all sat down.

"Now listen," said the host, "as soon as the flute is blown they will begin the contest. Then will be the time for all the feast givers to sing."

Now, this is one of the songs they sang:

Where they eat, there you went, it is said.

Now they finished. Manuba'ga was defeated and Kayo'saga won. The guests filled their dishes, and the kettle that had been put on for Earthmaker was taken down and placed before Manuba'ga, so that he might select the best parts. Then the second kettle that had been placed on the fire for Earthmaker was put in front of Kayo'saga. The third kettle that had been offered to the Thunder-spirits was placed in front of Nazihima'niga. The host then, in turn, mentioned by name all the invited guests and told the attendants what kettles were to be brought to them. As soon as the dishes had been distributed each one began to eat. They never waited for one another to start. While they were eating the members of the host's band sang. When the meal was over Manuba'ga rose and spoke as follows:

"Councilors, relatives, uncles, I salute you all. As many spirits as are in charge of life you have mentioned during the ceremony. Tobacco and food you have sent to them as offerings. I am sure that for that reason they will give you all that you have asked, and I also feel that I, myself, will be able to obtain something on which I can live, and that should I encounter on the warpath an enemy whose death has been ordained, it will be my fate to kill him. Thus I have been thinking, and that is why I have been sitting here. War-bundle owners, as many of you as are sitting in this lodge -war-bundle carriers, as many of you as are here -you have, indeed, had tobacco poured out for you to-day, and tobacco has also been offered to the powers that you have tied up in your bundles. I feel grateful for the fact and that I have been invited to attend, and that is why I am saying this. Councilors, war-bundle owners, all who are seated in this lodge, I salute you."

The leaders of all the other bands say practically the same.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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After the speeches were all over the offerings were taken down and thrown outside through the opening in the roof of the lodge and then night songs were sung. Before throwing the offerings out they marched around the lodge carrying them in their hands. At the approach of dawn the drum, gourds, etc., have about made the entire circuit of the lodge, and as soon as they reach the host he begins to sing the night songs. After these he sings turtle songs, and then the songs are over. The host now calls upon some one to give the war whoop, so that the spirits in the west may hear their voices. Nanhi'tcoga gave the war whoop. All joined in, and the feast was over.

Descriptive notes on the Bear clan war-bundle feast.—Informant, member of clan: About the middle of winter, in the month called deer-breeding month, the Winnebago used to go out hunting, and they gave a feast to all the spirits who had blessed them.

They are very careful not to have the kettles boil over, because they believe that a man's soul (*na-yi'rak'*) might be wandering about and is likely to come down along the chain of the kettle. If it doesn't boil over, the man is likely to conquer the possessions of this spirit (of an enemy) in the next battle.

The invitation sticks are sent out only to men who own a war bundle, and the clans are invited in the following fashion: First the Wolf, then the Hawk, and then any order.

The contents of the war bundle represent the following: The crow means strength in running. The turtle and the spear, the blessings which enable one to get out of difficulties, the former referring especially to difficulties in crossing water; they also enable their possessor to foretell when enemies are approaching and to tell an individual how many enemies he is going to conquer. The flute represents the voices of musical birds. When an enemy hears them it paralyzes him and he can not run.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which no explanations can, of course, be given now.

The Clan Marks of Identification.

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. There were the war club (*nąmąice*) of the Thunderbird clan, and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namąxɪnixɪni*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died, a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namąxɪnixɪni* was buried with a member of the Bear clan, we do not know.

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the centre of clan squash fields, corn fields, etc.[1]

Associated with every clan are also four clan songs. These are supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They are always sung on the death of an individual, and are supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these songs is so intimately associated with death, that when some hardened offender,

[1] For a fuller discussion of these, see Radin, *Some Aspects of Winnebago Archæology*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 13, 1911, pp. 517-538.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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let us say, some individual who has killed a member of the tribe and who refuses to make atonement of any kind, is pursued, he defiantly sings his clan songs.

As a last element in the clan-complex may be mentioned the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

We have now completed the discussion of clan organization. As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary associations that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that the complex has grown around a strong social-political unit.

THE CLAN AS A SOCIO-CEREMONIAL COMPLEX.

Up to the present our attention has been directed entirely to the clan as a socio-political complex and only passing mention has been made of those religious or ceremonial associations that may also have clustered around it. Among the Omaha, as we have frequently pointed out, these latter associations were of paramount importance and probably dwarfed the development of the political functions. Among the Winnebago, on the whole, they were unimportant. This very fact makes the solitary instance in which a fairly marked development took place of all the greater value, quite apart from the fact that it happens to give, on the one hand, an exceptionally instructive illustration of the secondary association of a ceremonial function with a social unit, and, on the other, a similarly instructive illustration of the association of a function generally belonging to an individual shaman with a social unit. Such an association has taken place with the Bear clan, and, owing to its importance, we will quote the data in extenso. The ceremony is known as "soldiers' dance" (*manype waci*).

"When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village, the people go to the chief and say, 'Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!' And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12

796 537

announced that he was about to give a feast in honor of Creator, all the spirits of the world above, all the spirits of the world below, and all those spirits who had appeared in dreams to any of those present. In this way, as determined by his grandfathers, should long life, and happiness, and health and success in warfare be assured to those participating. He cited the giving of tobacco to various spirits; the dedication of the cooking meat to various spirits. He called upon other custodians of war-bundles and their waiters, who might be present, to assist in the singing, speaking, and dancing. "O! O!", assented the custodians of other war-bundles who were present. [201]

796 [534]

The drum was now placed before the leader, who passed it to one of his three musicians. The other two and the leader were equipped with gourd rattles. The leader then took a reed whistle and on it actually played a tune very like a bugle call. Three distinct notes were produced by varying the force with which he blew it. He then started a song, his eyes closed as if in prayer, his face stamped with serious devotion. His assistants joined in, to the accompaniment of drum and rattles. A short rest intervalled the completion of this song and the start of the next. Three other songs followed in like manner. All of this music was relatively slow in time and not designed to be accompanied by dancing. A fifth song, of like character, was accompanied by the leader's throwing several pinches of tobacco over the war-bundle. [533] [582 276]

796 533 535

The next musical contribution was a dancing song and all the men who so desired gathered about the war-bundle, selecting therefrom reed whistles, and danced in place while blowing the whistles. There being not enough whistles to go around, some took fetishes which they held reverently in their hands while dancing. At the same time, the women at the west end of the lodge rose and danced in place. With slight pauses between, four dance songs were so rendered. At the end of each song, the male dancers participated in a series of war whoops. Everyone present apparently experienced a keen delight in this. One old man, blind and so feeble that he could not rise to his feet without assistance, insisted on dancing, without moving from his allotted place by the wall, and added his quavering voice to feebly swell the volume of each battle cry. [887]

796 [532] [201]

When the set of dancing songs was finished, whistles and fetishes were replaced on the bundle and all took their allotted places. Then the leader again spoke, his voice at times quavering with emotion, practically repeating his first speech. Again the honored guests answered with, "O! O!".

[276]

The head waiter then took the pipe from its position over the war bundle, and carried it to the guest seated nearest the door on the south side. While this old man puffed, the waiter lit the contents of the bowl with a stick, placed beside the fireplace for that purpose and lighted

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§25. *I Get Delirium Tremens*

159* 273 [657]

During the cranberry-picking season I drank all the time, and after that chased the payments. I continued drinking. When the payments had all been made, I went to Black River Falls. I was entirely without money. I was supposed to go back to Wittenberg, but I didn't have the fare. I went back to the Indians and stayed all night. In the morning I was sick. I was shaking from head to foot. When I tried to drink coffee, I would spill it; when I lay down, I used to see big snakes. I cried out and got up. Then when I wanted to go to sleep again, I thought I heard some one calling me. I raised the cover of my bed and looked around, but saw nothing. Whenever the wind blew, I thought I heard singing. I thought I heard imaginary people spit very loudly; I heard them and I could not sleep. As soon as I closed my eyes I began to see things. I saw things that were happening in a distant country. I saw ghosts on horseback, drunk. Five or six of them were on one horse, and they were singing. I recognized them, for they were people who had died long before. I heard the words of their song as they sang:

[533]

"I, even I, must die some time, so of what value is anything, I think."

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

* 159 Thus they sang, and it made a good song. I myself
293 learned it, and later on it became a drinking song known
● [533] by many people. I like it very much.

The next morning I rode on a train, and after a while we came to a town. Two days after this I stopped drinking and kept it up throughout the whole winter because I was unable to drink. I vomited every time I tried to drink beer. Throughout the winter I did not drink, and I kept this up until the following summer.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 795 796 Earthmaker and then eat the peyote." I, however, ate the peyote immediately for I did not know what to ask for and I did not know what to say in a prayer to Earthmaker. I therefore ate the peyote buttons just as they were. They were very bitter and had a taste difficult for me to describe. After eating them I wondered a good deal about what was going to happen to me. Soon I was given five more peyote buttons and these also I ate. They tasted rather bitter. I was now very quiet for the peyote had somewhat weakened me. I listened attentively to the singing and liked it very much. I felt as though I were partly asleep and quite different from my normal self. When I looked around and examined myself, however, I saw nothing wrong. I certainly felt different from my normal self. Before this I used to dislike the songs but now I liked them very much, particularly those the leader was singing. I liked listening to him very much.

They were all sitting very quietly and doing nothing [533] except singing. Each man sang four songs and then [198] passed the sacred objects to the next person. Each man held a stick and an eagle's feather in one hand and a small gourd rattle, which he would shake when singing, in the other. One of the participants did the drumming. In this manner the sacred objects would be passed along until they came back to the leader. The leader would then sing four songs and when he had finished these, place the sacred objects on the ground and rise and pray to Earthmaker. Then he called upon one or two to speak. These people all said

*159 795 [796] claimed." Some say that the home of the bad spirit can also be visited when in this state.

So that night we went to a meeting again. I doubted all their claims, of course, and thought that they were untrue. Nevertheless I went along. When we got near I had already eaten some peyote for I had taken three in the day. Now near the place where the peyote meeting [529] was to be held there was a regular Winnebago feast and to that I went instead. I found a long lodge and heard a terrific noise. An enormous drum was being beaten. The sound almost raised me in the air so pleasurably loud did it sound to me. Not so pleasurable had things appeared at the peyote meetings that I had lately been attending. There I danced all night and I flirted with the women. I left about day and when I reached the peyote meeting it was still going on. When I got back I was told to sit in a certain place and I was treated very kindly. There I again ate peyote. I also heard that they were going to have another meeting nearby on the evening of the same day. We continued eating peyote at the place where we were staying, which was the house of one of my relatives. Some of the boys taught me a few songs and ● [533] they said, "Say, when you learn how to sing you will be the best singer, for you are a good singer as it is. You have a good voice." I thought so myself.

[P. 198]

The Effects of the Peyote

I gave to my brother-in-law. Then I cried and my brother-in-law also cried. He thanked me, told me that I understood and that I had done well. He told me that Earthmaker alone was holy; that all the blessings and medicine I possessed were false; that I had been fooled by the bad spirit. He told me that I had now freed myself from much of this bad influence. My relatives expressed their thanks fervently.

On the fourth night of my stay they had another meeting and I went to it again. There I again ate peyote. I enjoyed it and sang along with the others. I wanted to be able to sing immediately. Some young men were singing and I enjoyed it so I prayed to Earthmaker and asked him to let me learn to sing right away. That was all I asked for. My brother-in-law was with me all the time. At that meeting all the things I had given my brother-in-law were burnt up.

Now the fact that my brother-in-law had told me that I understood, had pleased me and I felt good when daylight came. As a matter of fact, I had not received any knowledge at all. I thought, however, that this was the proper way to act, so I did it. After that, I would attend meetings occasionally and I looked around for a woman whom I cared to marry permanently. Before long that was the only thing that I would think of when I attended the meetings.

[P. 187]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12
C W 1171 N95 N96 [533]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

| Element | Occurrence | | |